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causes in dispute. We have done much to get this principle admitted, and we see further in this direction to which I want you to give your attention and assistance. In this respect, let me call to your mind the name of a friend of ours who in recent years has perhaps done more than anybody else, at least well deserved to rank with any other, in these treaties of arbitration. My friend Sir Thomas Barclay has gone from city to city, from nation to nation, and succeeded in getting many of these treaties established.

#### KINSHIP AND UNDERSTANDING.

But underlying all notions of international law, underlying the ideas developed in these private treaties, the great security of peace is to be found in the recognition by the members of different communities of their kinship with members of other communities, in the development of the notion of a common manhood, if not of a common citizenship. There we have the supreme guarantee of perpetual international peace. Try to get together representatives of the States of Europe and America. Try to get the people to understand one another. It is too often said, and with too much truth, you go your way dreaming and talking of your dreams. There lies at the bottom of humanity a great power of passion which when aroused scatters all your fabric of vision, just as a bubble is burst in the air — public passion controlled and burst by public ignorance.

Against these things we have to fight, against these things I implore you to use all your power. [Applause.] Get people to understand one another, to understand how they may be friends, to understand how they may offend one another. This, perhaps, is one of the most difficult lessons to be learned in private or public life. We offend our friends without meaning it, by something in our manner, in the limitations of our thoughts, in the crudity of our expressions. Try to understand other people and other nations, and struggle to correct in you all that savors of arrogance, of pretence, of disregard for the feelings of your neighbors. Shall I for a moment drop from this height and suggest one simple application of this principle? When a foreigner is speaking to you in his own language and you do not understand it, try to be silent and sympathetic. [Hear, hear, and applause.]

Now I cannot pass from this thought without reference to another man who has just passed away, to the great loss of the cause of peace. What a happy thought it was of Sir William Randal Cremer when he brought together the interparliamentary conferences, which made the deputies of Paris conversant with the members of the House of Commons in London, which brought both in contact with the House of Representatives at Washington, and with those of other countries. To Sir William Cremer we owe a great debt. He deserved the award of the Nobel prize, and he showed the elevation of his spirit, the magnanimity of his character, when as a poor man he applied the whole proceeds of his limited resources to the cause of peace. [Applause.]

#### A VISION FOR EUROPE.

I will give you just a small illustration of what we may hereafter attain — not at once. We have need of patience and faith. Patience without faith would be acquiescence in the evil forever. Faith without patience would produce revolt, disappointment and reaction. But

the thing will come. Turn for a moment to that great federation in the West, where there are things going on that might be questioned, but where we have an illustration of the great principle of arbitration. If the State of New York has a difficulty with the State of Massachusetts, do they go to war? No, the matter is brought to the Supreme Court of the United States to settle their cause of difference. Here is a vision which Europe may some day be able to bring about and apply for its own use. The Courts of Europe shall appeal to a supreme international court, to that court they shall carry their enmities and causes of disagreement and there find a refuge and escape from all those troubles which short-sighted people declare to be inevitable, but which we believe in the future will cease to occur because they will be absorbed in a vision of law, of justice and of peace. [Great applause.]

### Peacemakers at London.

#### Report of the Proceedings of the Seventeenth International Congress.

BY JAMES L. TRYON.

The seventeenth Universal Peace Congress met in Caxton Hall, London, July 26 to August 1. The fact that it met at the world's greatest centre made it possible to get a large attendance and gave it a peculiarly significant interest. Delegates attended from twenty-four nations, even Turkey, South Africa, India and Japan sending representatives. The sentiments of two hundred and eighty Societies were concentrated there. Members of the Labor and Social Democratic party, the Trades Union Congress, the London Trades Council, the Humanitarian League, the International Law Association, and delegates from reform clubs, women's federations, churches and educational institutions in Great Britain united with the peace workers in a common expression of opinion. From the continent of Europe came a large number of well-known peace advocates. The veteran Passy of France could not come, but Ruyssen, Arnaud and Dumas brought to the meeting that keenness of intellect, that purity of idealism, and that familiarity with the European political situation for which the French delegates are distinguished. From Germany came Pastors Umfrid and Rohleder, Professors Heilberg, Richter and Quidde. Baron de Neufville of Frankfort brought with him a new worker in the person of Baron Von Siebold, the son of the famous scientist of that name whose work for Japan causes him to be remembered by her with gratitude. Baron Von Siebold served as an interpreter and diplomatic agent in making important treaties between Germany and Japan in his earlier life. He brought to the Congress a clear grasp of sound international principles and an admirable spirit of coöperation. Professor Stein of Berne, always a force at a gathering of this kind, represented the Berne Bureau in place of Dr. Gobat, who could not attend.

From Austria came the Baroness Von Suttner and A. H. Fried. Many of the European delegates brought with them their wives and a son or daughter, some of whom had been present at Munich last year and at previous Congresses. Their presence made it possible to have little tea parties at the hotels in the evening, or gave an opportunity for breakfasting in family groups,



AMERICAN DELEGATES TO THE LONDON PEACE CONGRESS.

which lent to the life of the Congress a pleasant social side.

The English workers were practically all present. Among them were Miss Peckover, President of the Wisbech Local Peace Association, which is said to be the largest in the world; Rev. C. Spriggs-Smith, a clergyman of the Church of England, and C. D. Hall, the latter a familiar figure at every Peace Congress, both of whom are associated with Miss Peckover's society; Field Secretary Morday, the energetic associate with Dr. Darby in the executive work of the British Peace Society; Mrs. Louise B. Swan of Bristol, one of the most active political speakers in England; and Miss Ellen Robinson of Liverpool; some of whom, although they took but a minor part in the proceedings of the Congress, are constantly engaged in the peace propaganda in Great Britain. Scotland and Ireland both had a good representation. Rev. Walter Walsh, who had just returned from his fruitful visit in America, came down from Dundee.

The management of the Congress was of course wholly British, and comprised the principal officials of the British Peace Societies, either in an active or honorary capacity. The Chairman of the Executive Committee was Mr. T. F. Newman, an exact, thorough and practical manager. Mr. H. S. Perris, formerly a Unitarian minister, the successor of Dr. Martineau, was the General Secretary. He

brought to his difficult task a cheerful and accommodating spirit. He devoted himself to the interests of the members as well as to the program of the Congress, and won the respect and love of every one. He was assisted by his brother, George H. Perris, who, though nominally only the press agent of the Congress, was one of its most influential personalities when it came to putting thought into the form of resolutions. The Misses Huntsman, Miss Playne and Mr. Charles Weiss made every foreigner feel at home with their cordial and painstaking hospitality. Mr. J. F. Green and Dr. W. Evans Darby were Honorary Secretaries. Mr. Green took an active part in guiding the affairs of the Congress. Dr. Darby, besides attending it, gave a notable series of lectures for the public every day at Bow Street Church on "Factors in the Promotion of International Peace."

The Honorary President of the Congress, Lord Courtney of Penwith, a former member of the British government, an authority on International and British Constitutional Law, gave great dignity to the proceedings, speaking on every occasion in which he took part with a clear knowledge of the principles of the peace movement and of the things most to be desired now. His outspoken, manly English courage made him an ideal leader. One of the most striking characteristics of all the English

delegates was their absolute fearlessness and frankness in dealing with the questions at issue. What Emerson, in his "English Traits," says of the honesty of Englishmen, was confirmed by the speeches made at this Congress.

The chairman of the business sessions was Mr. Joseph G. Alexander. Mr. Alexander was for many years secretary of the International Law Association. He is familiar with the principal European languages and he knows the continental usage in debate which was adopted by the Congress. His accurate and ready information on every phase of peace work and his familiarity with the machinery of committees, his sense of the desirability of unity and method in parliamentary proceedings, as of propriety and brevity in debate, together with his firmness of decision, made him an efficient presiding officer.

America had between fifty and sixty delegates at the Congress. They included Dr. Benjamin F. Trueblood, Secretary of the American Peace Society, and Miss Trueblood, Rev. Charles E. Beals, Field Secretary, and Mrs. Beals, Mr. and Mrs. Edwin D. Mead, Miss Anna B. Eckstein, Rev. Dr. Philip S. Moxom of Springfield, Dr. Sylvester F. Scovel, ex-President of Wooster University, Ohio, and Hon. Theodore E. Burton, all three of them Vice-Presidents of the American Peace Society, Judge Robert E. Raymond and Mrs. Raymond, and the Misses Seabury of New Bedford, Mrs. George F. Lowell of Newton, Prof. B. H. Hibbard of Iowa, Mrs. Belva A. Lockwood of Washington, A. B. Farquhar of York, Pa., Stanley R. Yarnall of Philadelphia, and Dr. Dudley A. Sargent of the Harvard Gymnasium. The American college students were represented by George Fulk, Secretary of the Intercollegiate Peace Association, and Mr. N. L. Baldwin, a student. Rev. Frederick Lynch and Miss Mary J. Pierson represented the Peace Society of the city of New York. The Utah Peace Society, of which the Governor of Utah is President, one of the branches of the American Peace Society, sent three delegates. Rev. Dr. J. J. Hall came with a commission from Governor Glenn of North Carolina. Judge Loyed E. Chamberlain, W. R. Chester and Richard L. Gay, President, Vice-President and Secretary of the Massachusetts State Board of Trade, who were on a tour together in England and the Continent, represented that body. Mrs. Corinne H. Wilson of California, a member of the American Peace Society, who resides in Paris, spent the week with the delegation.

At the suggestion of Dr. Trueblood, the American delegation held daily meetings, either before or between sessions, for business of its own, and for the purpose of bringing together for united action in the Congress peace workers who are scattered all over our country, some of whom met at London for the first time. It organized with Judge Raymond as Chairman and James L. Tryon as Secretary. It elected Mr. Mead to the Board of Honorary Vice-Presidents of the Congress, and chose the following as members of the important committees:

International Law. Dr. Trueblood and Judge Raymond.

Actualities (Current Events). Rev. F. L. Goodspeed and Mr. Tryon.

Armaments. Mr. Mead and Mr. Yarnall.

Propaganda. Rev. Mr. Lynch and Mr. Fulk.

International Life. Dr. Scovel and Mrs. Mead.

Workingmen. Rev. Mr. Beals and Miss Pierson.

Dr. Trueblood was chosen by the management of the Congress to serve on the deputation to present an address to the King. The reception of this delegation was probably the greatest event of this or of any International Peace Congress, and the mere announcement that it was to take place gave the convention an honored standing in social and governmental circles in England.

#### RECOGNITION OF THE PEACE MOVEMENT BY THE CHURCHES.

Another public recognition of the Congress came in the form of a service on Sunday afternoon, July 26, at Westminster Abbey. The Bishop of Hereford, the most popular peace leader in the Church of England, was to have been the preacher, but was kept away by the critical illness of his son, and could only communicate his sentiments by a letter which was read later during one of the sessions. His place was taken by the Bishop of Carlisle, who preached a sermon which, though extremely conservative, showed real respect for the cause.

On Monday there was a Conference of the Churches, under the auspices of the Society of Friends, in Caxton Hall. A similar meeting preceded the Glasgow Congress a few years before, and had produced good results in drawing the attention of the churches to the cause. The present meeting was significant in that it once more brought the churches into line and strengthened those who attended it in their moral grasp of peace principles. All denominations took an interest in it, though it was impossible for all to be represented by speakers. The Bishop of Carlisle presided at the opening session, led the devotions and made an address. In a carefully reasoned and discriminating speech, like his sermon of the day before, he outlined the relations of Christians to the peace movement. He frankly said that he could not go as far as some of the delegates in sentiment, but as far as he went he went with his whole heart. He gave it as his opinion that the most distinguishing note of Christianity was the ideal of peace.

Dr. Francis H. Rowley of Boston gave the Congress, in this meeting, its first positive note, which was echoed again and again throughout the day, not only in the words of speakers on the platform, but in the conversation of individuals between sessions as they discussed his straightforward utterances. Dr. Rowley made a kind and telling allusion to the growing love and regard of Americans for the English people, which he hoped was reciprocated, as indeed, judging by the applause, it seemed to be. He said that we should teach in our churches what arbitration has done to prevent war, lay before the people the moral damage of war, and show what are a man's true relations to his neighbor, whether that neighbor be across the street or across the sea. "No power for peace is greater than the Christian church. She could, if she would, outrival all the peace societies in hastening the day when arbitration shall take the place of war."

Everybody who is familiar with the hold of militarism upon Germany realizes what a difficult task it is for clergymen who are interested in the peace movement there to make an impression upon their fellow-pastors. Rev. Theodor Rohleder of Wurtemberg and Rev. Otto Umfrid of Stuttgart are the well-known peace leaders among the German clergy. Pastor Rohleder believed that the churches should coöperate with the governments

in making peace, but should not try to coerce them. He believed in an international coöperation of peace forces, and suggested that periodicals should appear in different languages to spread the principles of peace among Christians. Pastor Umfrid expressed great hope for results through the practical genius of the English people in restoring the peace ideals of primitive Christianity. Germany, he felt, would follow England. Baron de Neufville, who, at Munich last year, by a simple and sincere declaration of his sentiments, saved the effort that was made there to bring the churches into relation with the peace movement, within the year conducted an excursion of one hundred and forty German pastors to England, and has therefore done probably more towards the object than any other worker among the churches since the adjournment of the Munich Congress except Joseph Allen Baker, M. P., who initiated the visit and secured the means for carrying it out. On this visit Protestant and Catholic German clergymen met for the first time and held services together on ship board, a fact of the utmost significance. Baron de Neufville explained what this visit meant to the two nations, who are now the victims of an undesirable rivalry, and Dr. Trueblood, who followed him, brought out with kind and thoughtful appreciation an even fuller meaning of this visit than the brevity and modesty of the Baron had permitted him to do. Dr. Trueblood said that the temporary union of the German pastors was in itself of incalculable significance.

In the afternoon Dr. R. F. Horton presided at the Church Conference. The words, "No compromise," the title which the newspapers gave to Dr. Horton's address, furnish an excellent key to his remarks. The peace movement was put upon a distinctly New Testament basis, as it was a century ago when it began its organized career. "We should let all the world know," said Dr. Horton, "that Jesus is dead against war." He believed, like several other speakers who expressed themselves on that occasion, in a return to the principles of primitive Christianity. He pointed out that the converted soldiers of the second century preferred death to fighting, and allowed themselves to be cut down by their enemies rather than cut down their foes at the command of their officers. Founded as it is on the Sermon on the Mount, the church should withdraw her sanction from war. She should have the courage to forbid in the name of the Lord what is going on in Europe to-day, the useless preparations for war, the building up of armaments and the preparing of manhood for this purpose. She should adopt this attitude even though it were at present impracticable and States could not be expected at once to follow it. Dr. Horton came out squarely for non-resistance to national injuries, in the spirit of the charge of Christ, "resist not evil." His address deeply impressed the delegates.

Prof. J. Estlin Carpenter, Principal of Mansfield College, Oxford, in an earnest, well-considered and practical address, made it the duty of the church to educate the public mind and the minds of rulers in the ideal of peace which Christianity held. War, he said, is a people's question; it is no longer made by statesmen, financiers and journalists, but begins in the hearts of the people. We must teach that it is possible to prevent war, and we must try to overcome men's hopelessness of this possibil-

ity by diffusing among them, with moral ardor, all the information and optimism that is needful for the task. Coming down to the concrete, he suggested that we enroll children in Guilds of Peace, as in other Christian work, that Peace and Arbitration Societies should be represented by a committee in every church, and that we should emphasize those heroic qualities which we admire in the soldier, but which are a thousand times more often met with in peace than in war in the hazards of the sailor, the lifeboat man, and even the man in the sewer.

Speaking on the problem of interesting the churches in peace, Rev. W. Spriggs Smith made the point that when the laymen were well organized in the peace movement the ministers would come in—a suggestion that may have a value in church circles where the ministers are yet indifferent.

Rev. Frederick Lynch of New York, in a ten-minute address, waked up the meeting once more on its moral side. Among other things that he observed, which kept his audience smiling and applauding to almost every sentence he uttered, sometimes because of his good humor, sometimes because of his seriousness, was that both in America and England we were still putting up hundreds of monuments to people who have killed somebody to one that is erected to some one who has saved somebody. This form of patriotic devotion, however, he said, is passing; people are beginning to feel a sense of brotherhood which forbids war. He referred to the pledge made by the Socialists in France and Germany, that in case of war they will not fight against each other. He declared that there is no double standard of morality, one for nations and one for individuals, but that what is wrong for two persons is wrong for two nations. He advocated teaching the idea of neighborhood; as we have it in city or state, so we must have it among the nations, with Russia, China, the Philippines and Japan as much as any others. We have no more right to kill a man in South Africa than in London. He wanted to see the churches take up the movement. "When the churches preach a real Christianity, war will go."

During the latter part of the meeting the relation of the peace movement to missions was considered. Professor Carpenter had said that the church in the foreign fields should not call in the civil powers to help it when in trouble. Mr. A. J. Davidson, who is familiar with conditions in China, spoke of the critical nature of the military situation there. He said that we had never tried the right way of dealing with China, but had done her great injustice. We have sowed the wind and unless our methods change we shall reap the whirlwind, for China, who now begins to think that power depends upon armaments, following the example of European governments, is taking up militarism, holding military manœuvres, building arsenals and adding twenty-five thousand men a year to her army. As she is united and has untold population she is destined to become the greatest military power in the world. Chinese students have become enthusiastic for military drill and are being taught it in some of the missionary schools. The missionaries, therefore, need conversion and the churches should bring it about. But, dangerous as the situation is, it can be saved if we make the right kind of effort in behalf of the principles of peace.]

## A MESSAGE FROM THE LAMBETH CONFERENCE.

Another event of equal importance with this Conference on the relation of the churches to the peace movement was the visit of three Bishops of the Lambeth Conference, who came to the Congress on Thursday morning when Lord Courtney was present to receive them. They were the Bishop of Ripon, Boyd Carpenter, known in America as in England as a gifted orator and broad-minded man, Bishop Lawrence of Massachusetts, and the Bishop of Perth, Australia. The Bishops brought with them a resolution which was passed, not for special use in expressing sympathy with the Peace Congress, but on the merits of the cause of peace in general. It appears as a part of the regular platform of the Lambeth Conference. The Bishop of Ripon, in an excellent speech of ten minutes, presented the resolution, which is as follows:

"That this Conference, while frankly acknowledging the moral gain sometimes won by war, rejoices in the gain of higher ethical perception evidenced by the increasing willingness to settle difficulties among nations by peaceful methods; it records therefore its deep appreciation of the services rendered by the Conference at The Hague, and its thankfulness for the practical work achieved and for the principle of international responsibility acknowledged by the delegates; and finally, realizing the dangers inseparable from commercial and national progress, it urges earnestly on all Christian peoples the duty of allaying race prejudice, reducing by peaceful arrangements the conflict of trade interests, and promoting among all races the spirit of brotherly coöperation for the good of all mankind."

Bishop Lawrence and the Bishop of Australia also spoke briefly. The Bishop of Australia took occasion to justify the system of universal military service lately advocated in Australia by saying that the benefit of it consisted in making every man responsible. He who proposed war would have to take part in it, a provision which he thought would have a tendency to prevent war from taking place. This address caused a ripple of disagreement in the audience, who thought the Bishop had taken unfair advantage of a congress met to promote peace; but no action was taken with regard to it.

Bishop Lawrence said that international peace depended upon the spirit and temper of the great body of the people. Give the people time to think and they will think honestly and right. The Hague Conference had fortunately provided a means by which we can delay action until there is a mutual understanding between contending nations. The United States, whose government is of, for and by the people, may be depended upon to stand for peace whenever it can stand for it with justice. He touched a fundamental note and received great applause when he said that war falls most heavily on the wage-earning people. "As the wage-earning people gain in intelligence and in influence with their own governments we may hope for the increase of the comity of nations."

## RECEPTIONS AND SOCIAL GATHERINGS.

During the week several interesting receptions were held. The first of these was on Sunday afternoon, when, after the service at Westminster Abbey, several of the delegates by invitation paid a visit to Mrs. John Richard Green, the wife of the historian, who showed them her study, a choice portrait of Mr. Green and other interesting mementos of his life. On Monday evening the whole

Congress was given a reception at the Whitehall rooms of the Hotel Metropole. The members were received by Lord and Lady Courtney. Special addresses were made by Lord Courtney on this occasion, by a representative of the Roman Catholic Church in England, expressing the warmest interest in the cause, by Mr. Arnaud and others. Receptions were also given by Sir Thomas and Lady Barclay at Earl's Court Exhibition, by Mr. and Mrs. Percy Bigland at Chelsea and by Mr. and Mrs. Felix Moscheles, whose beautiful home is in the same part of London, by the Lyceum Club, Piccadilly, and by the National Liberal Club, the latter being on the last night of the Congress, after the busy week was over. At the reception given by Mr. and Mrs. Moscheles a peace play was acted in the parlor. This play, together with the pictures of the artist and brilliant lantern illuminations in the garden, gave the evening an æsthetic setting which leaves it unique among the memories of the Congress. By invitation of the King the delegates went to Windsor Castle on Wednesday, and were shown apartments which the general public are seldom, if ever permitted to see. After spending an hour or two in the famous chapels and reception rooms that are connected with the palace, seeing souvenirs of the reign of Queen Victoria, portraits of the royal family and of distinguished sons of Great Britain, the delegates were given an afternoon tea in one of the hotels near the station. The weather was beautiful and the picturesque landscape about was seen to best advantage.

## QUEEN'S HALL MEETING — THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER FOR PEACE.

The first public meeting to which the delegates looked forward with special interest was that held on Tuesday evening at Queen's Hall, after the Congress had formally opened. Queen's Hall was the scene of hostile demonstrations against the advocates of peace during the agitation against the Boer War. To get possession of it now when their cause was honored was a peculiar satisfaction. They could, and did, look back with a sense of vindication of their principles, realizing that to-day the great majority of English people are beginning to see the mistake of that war. Around the hall were hung in large letters the familiar beatitude, "Blessed are the Peacemakers," the words "If You Wish for Peace Prepare for Peace," "Law is Better than War," and "War Means Waste." There was a chorus of singers; hymns printed on the program were passed around to the audience, ending with "God Save the King." These musical features gave opportunity for the expression of emotion, and lent to the meeting an air of enthusiasm. Lord Courtney presided. Distinguished leaders of the cause sat with him on the platform.

The most popular public man in England, Right Honorable David Lloyd-George, Chancellor of the Exchequer, was the principal speaker. He was one of those who had braved the mob while speaking for peace principles in the days of the Boer War, and is said to have escaped with his life at Birmingham only by putting on the uniform of a policeman and hurrying away from a besieged public hall in a carriage. He was considered by the peacemakers this night a hero. His heart was with the Congress. No kindlier speech could have been made than that made by him as he looked into the responsive faces of delegates assembled from so many



nations. It was full of the spirit of good international fellowship, fellowship not only between England and the world, but, what is more just now, between England and Germany. Pitched in a high key, it represented a vision of faith in the things that ought to be and will be when England leads the world in putting the money which she now expends in armaments into useful public works and in redeeming her neglected classes from poverty and ruin. It is regrettable that such a speech should have been frequently interrupted by Suffragettes. They were stationed round the hall by prearrangement to carry out with persistent spirit the aggressive principles of their new campaign, which pledged them to interrupt every member of the Cabinet, whenever he speaks in public, by demanding suffrage for women. The objection was not against giving women votes, but that an international meeting, having nothing to do with English home affairs, should be interfered with, and especially when a high English official was speaking kindly and hopefully of the relations between England and Germany. Some fifteen women were ejected from the hall before order was restored and Mr. Lloyd-George, who was most forbearing, could finish what he had to say.

Mr. Lloyd-George, whose speech is on another page, was followed by the Baroness Von Suttner, who spoke on "Inevitable Peace," a topic that had been suggested by a felicitous phrase in the opening speech of Lord Courtney. Mr. Mead, to the gratification of the English and Americans present, alluded eloquently to the efforts made towards peace and fraternity by John Bright and Mr. Cobden a generation ago. Dr. John Clifford, another martyr-like character of the Boer War days, a man with the earnestness of the prophet and the eloquence of the orator, whose venerable face only served to strengthen him with his audience, stood up and declared for a positive campaign for peace through international friendship. He believed in starting right with the child, disabusing it of the old ideals of battlefield glory, and creating in it a new manhood according to the pattern of Christianity. "Christ," he said, "never meant us to take a second place in sacrifice for the promotion of peace principles." "Democracy," he predicted, in a fine passage, "is coming to its own," and we shall have conditions when international peace and brotherhood are perfectly possible.

#### YOUNG PEOPLE AND PEACE.

One of the most entertaining of these outside meetings was that held for the benefit of young people, at Queen's Hall, on Thursday evening. It was rather a poor time of year to get together many children from the public schools, as it was vacation, but faces of children could be seen in all parts of the hall eagerly listening to the message. This meeting was preceded by a lifeguard drill and a fire brigade drill by boys, and by a drill in physical exercises by girls, all of whom belonged to organized teams which had previously distinguished themselves by taking prizes for their proficiency. The lifeguard exercise represented a scene in which some men were at work with their tools, and next an explosion which injured five of them, each one of them in a different way, one having a broken leg, another a concussion, another bleeding at the nose, etc. Then the rescuers appeared and treated each sufferer according to his injury with bandages, splints or restoratives. The fire drill enabled

a boy company to show that they could rescue twenty persons from a building three stories high within twenty minutes from the time when the alarm was rung and the first ladder was put up. The relief squad came on duty once more to attend burned and suffocated victims, who were lifted tenderly to a place of safety. The whole performance was made very realistic and was marked by hearty applause from the spectators. Its object was to show the heroism of peace, and that the qualities of the soldier can serve useful and beneficent aims in civil life. The enthusiasm and spirit of coöperation among the boys and girls in rescue work seemed even greater than it is in military drill. These societies of boys, of which there are now several hundred in Great Britain, have been organized to supplant the Boys' Brigades.

Several addresses were made at this meeting which were calculated to stimulate the interest of young people in peace or to call the attention of parents to the importance of peace teaching. The first of these, and one that impressed everybody with its common sense and dignity, was by Sir William Collins, M. P., the Vice-Chancellor of London University, formerly of the Education Committee of the London City Council. From the point of view of the true principles of education, he was opposed to military drill and rifle practice in schools. Miss Ellen Robinson, the foremost of the women peace workers in England, made an appeal to the boys and girls to take up the new conception of heroism and follow the path of the Lord himself, who died to save and not to destroy. She showed that, given a speaker of the right temperament and understanding, of the type of Frances Willard, for example, it is possible to bring the peace movement to the hearts of children quite as effectively as the temperance movement or any other humanitarian cause. Mr. George H. Perris, in explaining the principles of peace to the young people, said that our idea is not to lie down and let somebody kill us, but to secure fairness and justice among nations by referring their disputes to third parties whose heads are cool, as when we send a case to the Hague Court instead of seeking justice by war and killing. He advised resistance to compulsory training and refusing to vote for Members of Parliament who are unsound on the peace movement. Mr. Perris was followed by Mrs. Mead, who made one of her most effective speeches. She urged the study of the subject by the young, and recommended warfare against the internal foes of a nation, such as the drink evil, which was England's enemy rather than Germany. She advised the study of the German language and history, letting the boys and girls of each country get into touch with each other, and, above all else, that they be taught to put themselves in the "other fellow's place," a faculty which she believed in more than in a diploma. Mrs. Mead was followed by Rev. Sylvester Horne, who, in the course of a spirited address, in which he expressed the hope that the bully and braggart might be eliminated from international life, and righteousness and justice put in their stead, demanded that physical culture be given the right direction and that military training be not allowed to monopolize it, and affirmed that the advocates of peace believe not in destroying the body, but in improving it, in building brains up, not blowing brains out. He paid a high tribute to the non-resistant Quaker whom the soldiers sent to arrest could not fight because the

man in the white hat would not fight with them. As a fitting close to the meeting, Mr. Alexander, who presided, called upon Miss Mary J. Pierson of New York City, who was present on the platform. Miss Pierson was the pioneer in arranging children's mass peace meetings. She organized the great young people's meeting at the New York National Peace Congress, and gives a large part of her time to the problem of educating the young in peace principles. She took opportunity to pay a high tribute to Superintendent Maxwell, the liberal-minded educator, whose consent has made it possible to do peace work among the public schools of New York.

THE GOVERNMENT BANQUET — THE PRIME MINISTER SPEAKS.

The event of the week was the banquet on Friday evening at the Hotel Cecil, at the expense of the new British International Hospitality Fund, and under the management of Right Honorable Lewis Harcourt, first Commissioner of Public Works. It was the third occasion of the kind when this Hospitality Fund, so recently established, was used, the first having been when the French deputies were received at the House of Commons, and the second when the competitors in the Olympic games were entertained. The event proved that this sort of government expenditure is calculated to do a vast amount of good in producing friendly international feeling.

Fully four hundred delegates attended the banquet, representing nations in Europe and America, people known in literature, in science, in the church and in public life. Never was a banquet just like it held in England or in any other country. It corresponded, however, to the time when Secretary Hay appeared at the Boston Peace Congress or Secretary Root at the New York Congress, or when Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman received the Interparliamentary Union at Westminster Hall, but it was a stage in evolution. Here was a company of people receiving recognition from a government, not in the form of a public meeting, but in the more informal, friendly atmosphere of the dinner table. It was, next to the reception by the King, the most significant feature of the Congress.

Seated at the high table were Mr. Harcourt, Mr. Asquith, the new Prime Minister, the Lord Chancellor, Lord and Lady Courtney, Ambassador Bryce, Lady Aberdeen, Lord Fitzmaurice, Senator La Fontaine (Belgium), Signor Moneta (Italy), Professor Stein (Switzerland), Professor Ruysen (France), Professor Quidde (Germany), and from America Hon. Theodore E. Burton, Mr. and Mrs. Mead and Miss Eckstein, and others representing different nations.

To the toast, "The King," which Mr. Harcourt announced and which was repeated by the master of ceremonies, who commanded "great silence," the whole company arose in token of respect. Mr. Harcourt, in proposing the toast, which he did with dignity and ease, said that throughout His Majesty's whole life, and especially throughout his reign, the King had been an invaluable asset to the comity of nations and to the peace of the world. He had proved himself to be "a king among diplomats, and a diplomat among kings," and he added to his native charm and tact that influence which he rightly possessed and constitutionally exercised through the medium and on the advice of his responsible

ministers. Mr. Harcourt took advantage of the occasion to offer to the delegates, on behalf of those ministers, a warm and cordial welcome to their shores and to express the fervent hope that their deliberations might contribute to that result which they (the ministers) considered the highest interest of humanity — the continued peace of the nations. [Great applause.]

Mr. Asquith, the Prime Minister, whose speech appears elsewhere, was received with enthusiasm as he arose to propose the toast, "The International Peace Movement," and was frequently applauded as he progressed with his remarks. He was expected to speak with a certain amount of diplomatic reserve, because of his exalted position with its great responsibilities, and he did so, but he showed a sincere sympathy with the cause. He did not expect to see universal disarmament in his day, but he remarked upon the extraordinary sums that are spent on armaments, and declared that no object could be worthier than to provide a substitute for the arbitrament of arms. Speaking of the difficulty of dealing with delicate questions which occur in international life, when the passions of proud and independent peoples are inflamed, he said, — and this was the key to his speech: "The main thing is that nations should get to know and to understand one another. When I say that half their quarrels arise from the want of such understandings, I am grossly understating the case. The notion that there are hereditary antagonisms, which it is almost a point of honor to challenge; that there are natural antipathies which must from time to time find an outlet in carnage and destruction, — these pernicious superstitions, if such there are, need to be eradicated from the minds not only of children, but of grown men and whole communities." [Great applause.]

After Mr. Asquith had finished, Lord Courtney suggested that a rivalry of commercial and industrial enterprise was assumed between England and Germany. "I claim," said Lord Courtney, "that if you want to remove the peril, which is felt in Germany to be a real peril, if you want to come to some agreement which will arrest the development of armaments, you must go to the root of the matter. You must ask yourselves whether the old rule which sufficed our grandfathers must not be a little bit abated, and whether you must not give an immunity to commerce." This was a delicate but effective hint as to the importance of the immunity from capture of private property at sea, which was felt to have been given at a most opportune moment to impress the Cabinet ministers.

Professor Quidde, who followed, and who spoke from the depths of his soul what he believed to be the best thought in Germany, translated into English what he had tried to make the audience understand in German. "If people say there are bad feelings in Germany towards England, I say, Do not believe it. It is not true that the German people think of you as your yellow press try to make you believe. I do not understand that competition between nations, competition which profits both, should be the reason for any unfriendly feeling or conflict." [Loud applause.]

This address had the effect of touching both England and Germany on the noblest side of their national character. It was one of the most impressive episodes of the week, and proved once more what every delegate had



begun to feel, that for broad-mindedness and a spirit of genuine fraternity, Professor Quidde has no superior among the advocates of peace. It was a most fitting speech for one who had given so much of himself to the cause when he acted as President of the Congress at Munich in 1907.

At this meeting Professor Ruyssen spoke for France and Mr. Mead for America.

#### RESOLUTIONS OF THE CONGRESS.

The more important of the resolutions adopted were in substance as follows :

First of all, there was a resolution expressing appreciation of the kindness of the King. It read in part: "The Congress thanks His Majesty in the most hearty and respectful manner for having inaugurated, by the audience granted to a deputation of its delegates, an important precedent in the history of the peace movement. . . . While conscious that by this reception, and by his words on this occasion, His Majesty has exerted his influence in promoting the peace and harmony of the world, it trusts that he will continue in the future to grant that encouragement and sympathy which so much contribute to the success of the high objects of this Congress."

Governments were encouraged to follow the example of Great Britain in making provision for an International Hospitality Fund, and peace workers everywhere were urged to promote international visiting.

Education in peace principles among academic students and pupils of primary and high schools was recommended as heretofore. "To render efficient this proposition," one of the articles read, "the peace societies should associate with the schoolmasters of these schools." The new American School Peace League, of which Mrs. Fannie Fern Andrews of the Board of Directors of the American Peace Society is Organizing Secretary, was recognized as a valuable means of promoting work in the schools. At a conference of the teachers present at the Congress a resolution was passed recommending that endeavors be made to secure humane interpretation of history in schools and colleges, and condemning all attempts to bring militarist propaganda and training into connection with education as calculated to lower the ideals of youth and to impair the efficiency of educational work.

Nearly the whole of one session was given to the discussion of the relations of labor and socialism to the peace movement. Mr. Will Thorne, M. P., one of the most effective speakers on this occasion, expressed the belief that the million and a half workingmen in Great Britain, whom he represented, were in favor of a reduction of armaments, and of spending a large proportion of the money now devoted to the army and navy on productive and industrial enterprises. The Congress resolved that trade unions and all workers' organizations should be officially invited to take part in future Congresses; that the International Congress should appoint committees to make known the peace program to all wage-earners; and that a report of the work of the committee should be presented at each succeeding Congress.

Suitable recognition was made in a resolution of the beneficent results of the Central American Peace Conference of 1907, and the laying of the corner stone of the building of the Bureau of American Republics.

The guarantee by great European powers of the in-

tegrity of Norway and the territory bordering on the North Sea and the Baltic was also recognized. But the Congress urged that the protection of the smaller countries should rest, not simply on relations established by the greater powers, but on the identical rights of all independent nations.

In the case of Morocco, which has for some time past suffered from European intervention, it was recommended that when conflicts arise there, the subject of dispute should, without exception or delay, be sent to the Hague Court.

The Young Turkey Party was represented in the Congress by Mr. Ahmed Riza, for seventeen years an exile residing in Paris, who made an impressive address on the condition of Turkey, which had just been granted by the Sultan popular rights and government by the constitution of 1876. The Congress expressed satisfaction that the constitution had been granted and the hope that the various nationalities subject to Turkish rule will henceforth be invested with the same rights and duties, without distinction of race or religion, and asked that the powers give energetic support to the legal and constitutional reforms promised.

The Congress declared that it looked upon the principles voted for by the Hague Conference as definite results obtained, and believed that all the powers, true to a sense of their international solidarity, should try, by means of international litigation in case war threatened, to maintain general peace. It declared that arbitration should be made obligatory, and that all governments who have expressed themselves as favorable to the application in definite cases of obligatory arbitration should conclude among themselves a general treaty of permanent obligatory arbitration. It advised that the governments should establish national committees, and an international committee also, with the object of framing an international code of public law. When this matter came up Dr. Trueblood expressed the opinion that an international commission would do useful work if it would make better known the results achieved by the Hague Conference, as not one person in twenty had any clear and accurate knowledge of what it had done.

With regard to the organization of international life, on which the Congress provided a special committee, a resolution, introduced by Mr. Duplessix, recommended an international congress, court and executive, the latter to see that the laws are properly observed.

In dealing with the question of warfare in the air the Congress expressed itself as follows :

"The Congress protests most emphatically against the desire to see in the invention of aerial navigation only a new means of carrying on war. It considers it to be an invention of great benefit to civilization and protests against its being regarded only from the military standpoint."

"The Congress urges that the twenty-two states which refused in 1907 to sign the renewal of the convention of 1899, which prohibits the throwing of explosives and projectiles from balloons, adhere to this convention."

The most important resolutions were those passed on the limitation of armaments and the immunity from capture of private property at sea, the first reported by George H. Ferris, the second by Dr. Dumas.

Considering that the yearly expenditure on armaments by the powers of Europe, the United States and Japan, between the first and second Peace Conferences at The Hague, within eight years, has increased from \$1,219,-860,000 to \$1,555,200,000, or \$335,340,000, and that if it be not stopped there will be further increase before the third Conference meets in 1915, the Congress urged that a special conference of the chief naval powers should be called without delay by Great Britain, so that a practical plan for limitation may be put into operation before the meeting of the third Hague Conference, when, if the plan has worked out successfully, it may lead to a more general agreement. "The Congress expresses the opinion that for the moment a practical method of such an arrest of armaments would be an agreement by the contracting states for a short term of years not to exceed the average total expenditure on army and navy, jointly or separately, during a similar preceding period."

The discussion turned almost entirely upon the section of the resolution which is quoted, recommending a limitation of the budget. Although the Congress recognized the difficulties presented by this method of limitation, it believed this was the best that could at present be proposed, and that the main thing was to make a beginning.

Speeches were made by Messrs. Mead and Yarnall of the American delegation and by Signor Moneta of Italy. The latter stated that Italy had been disarming for several years, and expressed the belief that if any of the great nations would take the initiative in disarming without waiting for a formal treaty, the economic results therefrom would be so considerable that other nations would have to follow its example.

The question of the immunity from capture of private property at sea was kept in close connection with the limitation of armaments. The argument in its favor was directed chiefly to the British members of the Congress, as Great Britain had prevented the immunity proposition from passing at the Second Hague Conference and it was felt that she needed conversion on this subject. The resolution is as follows:

"The Congress congratulates the second Hague Conference on having in some measure restricted the right of capture on sea by exempting from seizure boats which are exclusively used for coast fishery and local navigation. The Congress expresses the hope that in the near future private property will be declared as absolutely free from capture on sea as it is on land, and that, as a counterpart of this reform, a general agreement for the reduction of armaments will be adopted."

In passing these two important resolutions, the seventeenth International Peace Congress took the most advanced stand on the two most pressing questions that are before the governments of the world. They are a fitting crown to its labors as an assembly met for the purpose of expressing public sentiment upon what no less authority than the Prime Minister of England says is "the greatest of all reforms — the establishment of peace upon earth."

Mr. Lloyd-George said, at the time of the Peace Congress, that his motto, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, was "Less money for the production of suffering and more money for the reduction of suffering."

## William Ladd's Project of a Congress and Court of Nations.

BY DR. JAMES BROWN SCOTT.

[The following estimate of the service of William Ladd in promoting the idea of a Congress and Court of Nations was given by Dr. Scott, Solicitor of the State Department, as a prelude to his address at the annual dinner of the American Peace Society on May 12, on the work of the Second Hague Conference, and published in our June issue. — ED.]

In celebrating the eightieth anniversary of the founding of the American Peace Society, it is proper that the name of William Ladd be mentioned with admiration, and a tribute paid to his memory. And it is no less appropriate, although it may not seem so fitting, that his services in the cause of international peace be a prelude to an account of the actual work accomplished at the second Hague Conference. That he organized the American Peace Society in the year 1828 is an unquestioned fact. It is susceptible of demonstration that the labors of this simple apostle of peace pointed the way to the great international conference that met in the year 1899, and the work accomplished by it and its recent successor would seem to be in no small measure due to Ladd and his devoted disciples, who proclaimed the need of such a conference, outlined its organization, and, indeed, suggested the great projects which for years to come will form the basis of discussion of future conferences, namely, the codification of international law and the establishment of a court of justice, composed of judges, in which the law so codified can be adequately interpreted and administered.

It is not meant to suggest that the idea of international peace originated with William Ladd, for the establishment of peace has been the dream of the enlightened in all ages. Nor is it intimated that the means proposed for preserving the peace of the world were original with Ladd, for, to speak merely of modern times, Henry IV proposed a scheme — the so-called Grand Design, — and the Abbé de St. Pierre, basing his project upon the plan of Henry IV, expounded it to the eighteenth century. In 1693 William Penn published, in the interest of present and future peace, an essay for the establishment of a European Dyet, Parliament, or Estates. The jurist Bentham proposed disarmament and the establishment of a court of justice. The philosopher Kant not merely dreamed of a perpetual peace, but outlined the means by which this peace might be procured. It is insisted that these various plans were either founded upon an impossible principle, that of force, or were rendered impracticable by a confusion of ideas and a misapplication of just principle; that, however correct they may have been in principle and the application of the principle, they appealed to a limited class, whereas Ladd's project, based upon the world as it actually is and upon the independence and equality of nations, sought to establish and safeguard peace by peaceable means, and appealed not merely to a select few, but to the enlightened peoples of the world.

A mere statement of the salient features of the various projects shows their defects. For example, Henry IV proposed to humble the power and pride of Austria by force, and the federation of Europe, produced by force, was to be maintained by the sword. The plan of St. Pierre, while it did not contemplate the establishment of peace by force, nevertheless regarded force as necessary